

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3051

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 132

EXDIS/SALT

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SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: HIGHLIGHTS: POST-PLENARY DISCUSSIONS, APRIL 28,
1976 (SALT TWO-995)

1. (KLOSSON-EARLE/KARPOV-SMOLIN, A-1289)

A. ICBM LAUNCHER DEFINITION--GENERAL

REFERRING TO JOHNSON'S PLENARY STATEMENT TODAY, KOSSON
ASKED KARPOV WHETHER THE USE OF THE WORD "DEPLOYED" IN THE
PROPOSED SOVIET DEFINITION OF ICBM LAUNCHERS WAS MEANT TO COVER
ALL ICBM LAUNCHERS IN ALL OF THE STATUSES LISTED IN PARAGRAPH
1 OF ARTICLE VI. KARPOV REPLIED YES.

EARLE ASKED WHETHER THE WORD "DEPLOYED" IN THE PROPOSED
SOVIET DEFINITION WAS MEANT TO APPLY TO ICBM TEST AND TRAINING
LAUNCHERS AND POINTED OUT THAT THE US BELIEVED SUCH LAUNCHERS
SHOULD BE INCLUDED WITHIN THE SCOPE OF AN ICBM LAUNCHER DEFINITION.
KARPOV SAID IT WAS ALSO SOVIET VIEW THAT ICBM TEST
AND TRAINING LAUNCHERS WOULD COME WITHIN THE SCOPE OF THE
DEFINITION, BUT UNDER ARTICLE VII WOULD BE EXEMPT FROM THE
AGGREGATE LIMITATIONS.

KLOSSON SAID THAT HE WANTED EXPLORE THE MEANING IN THE
PROPOSED SOVIET DEFINITION OF "DEVELOPED AND DEPLOYED". FOR

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EXAMPLE, IT WAS CONCEIVABLE THAT AN ICBM LAUNCHER COULD BE

DEVELOPED, BUT NOT BE DEPLOYED. IN THAT CASE WOULD THAT LAUNCHER BE CONSIDERED AN ICBM LAUNCHER? KARPOV REPLIED THAT HE COULD IMAGINE A CASE WHERE AT A TEST RANGE A LAUNCHER COULD BE EQUIPPED WITH AN ICBM, BUT BECAUSE OF SOME MISTAKE THE LAUNCHER COULD NOT FIRE THE ICBM. ONE COULD SAY THAT THE ICBM LAUNCHER HAD BEEN DEVELOPED, BUT BECAUSE OF ITS FAILURE IT WOULD BE LEFT THERE TO RUST AND WOULD NEVER BE DEPLOYED. UNDER THE SOVIET DEFINITION THAT LAUNCHER WOULD NOT BE REGARDED AS AN ICBM LAUNCHER. EARLE OBSERVED THAT UNDER THE PROPOSED U.S. DEFINITION THE FACT THAT THE LAUNCHER HAD CONTAINED AN ICBM WOULD MEAN THAT IT WOULD BE CONSIDERED AN ICBM LAUNCHER.

B. ICBM LAUNCHER DEFINITION--DUAL CAPABLE

KLOSSON SAID THERE WAS ANOTHER POSSIBILITY--NAMELY, THAT AN ICBM LAUNCHER COULD BE DEVELOPED, BUT WHEN IT WAS DEPLOYED IT WOULD BE DEPLOYED FOR PURPOSES OTHER THAN FOR LAUNCHING AN ICBM. KARPOV SAID HE DID NOT UNDERSTAND THE EXAMPLE. KLOSSON SAID TO EXAGGERATE FOR EMPHASIS, SUPPOSE A SIDE DEVELOPED AN ICBM LAUNCHER, BUT DEPLOYED IT ONLY FOR CEREMONIAL SALUTES. UNDER THE SOVIET PROPOSAL WOULD THAT LAUNCHER BE CONSIDERED AN ICBM LAUNCHER? KARPOV SAID HE STILL DID NOT UNDERSTAND THE EXAMPLE, AND MOREOVER IT DID NOT SEEM TO BE A REALISTIC ONE.

C. "SPECIALLY" IN SOVIET FORMULATION

KLOSSON ASKED IF KARPOV COULD EXPLAIN THE REASON WHY THE PROPOSED SOVIET ICBM LAUNCHER DEFINITION REFERRED TO "SPECIALLY" DEVELOPED AND DEPLOYED. KARPOV REPLIED THAT IN RUSSIAN THE WORD "SPECIALLY" SERVED TO EMPHASIZE THAT THE LAUNCHERS WERE DEVELOPED TO BE ICBM LAUNCHERS. EARLE SAID THAT BY INTRODUCING "SPECIALLY" THE SOVIET SIDE RAISED THE POSSIBILITY THAT THERE WERE MISSILES WHICH WERE NOT ESPECIALLY DEVELOPED TO BE ICBM LAUNCHERS. KARPOV SAID THAT SUCH AN IMPRESSION DID NOT ARISE IN THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE VERSION, BUT HE WOULD CONSIDER WHAT HAD BEEN SAID.

D. APPLICATION OF ICBM LAUNCHER DEFINITION TO MIRV DEFINITION

RECALLING PREVIOUS EXPLORATIONS ON THE MIRV DEFINITION, KLOSSON ASKED HOW THE PROPOSED SOVIET DEFINITION OF ICBM LAUNCHERS WOULD RELATE TO THE PROPOSED SOVIET DEFINITION OF LAUNCHERS OF MIRVED MISSILES. HE RECALLED THAT THE UNOFFICIAL

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TRANSLATION OF THE SOVIET DEFINITION REFERRED TO LAUNCHERS "CONTAINING" MISSILES WITH MIRVS. KLOSSON ALSO RECALLED THAT KARPOV HAD SAID THAT THE PROPOSED SOVIET MIRV DEFINITION MIGHT ALSO BE TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH AS LAUNCHERS "IN WHICH ARE DEPLOYED" MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS. IF THE SOVIET SIDE BELIEVES THAT PARAGRAPH 1 OF ARTICLE VI WOULD APPLY TO ALL ICBM LAUNCHERS, THEN WOULD IT FOLLOW THAT PARAGRAPH 1 OF ARTICLE VI WOULD ALSO APPLY TO ICBM AND SLBM LAUNCHERS WITH MIRVS? KARPOV REPLIED

AFFIRMATIVELY.

2. (MAY/SHCHUKIN-PAVLICHENKO, A-1288)

ICBM LAUNCHER DEFINITION

SHCHUKIN SAID HE HAD TWO QUESTIONS:

1. WOULD AN "INSTALLATION" WHICH HAD BEEN TESTED BUT NOT DEPLOYED COUNT? (THEY NEVER RETURNED TO THIS QUESTION.)
2. IF AN ICBM LAUNCHER AND A NON-ICBM LAUNCHER HAD THE SAME EXTERNAL ASPECTS, E.G., THE SAME COVER, WOULD THAT BE SUFFICIENT TO CAUSE BOTH LAUNCHERS TO BE COUNTED IN THE 2400?

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ANSWERING HIS OWN SECOND QUESTION, SHCHUKIN SAID THAT NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS COULD AND SHOULD OBSERVE HOW THE LAUNCHER WAS UTILIZED: THE "MAKING READY" OF THE MISSILE, THE METHODS BY WHICH IT IS DEPLOYED, THE DIMENSIONS OF THE MISSILE, WERE ALL INDICES OF WHETHER THE LAUNCHER WAS OR WAS NOT AN ICBM LAUNCHER.

MAY ANSWERED THAT, IN THE FIRST PLACE, ICBM LAUNCHERS WERE WHAT WAS LIMITED. SECONDLY, THE DETERMINATION OF WHETHER LAUNCHERS WERE ICBM LAUNCHERS OR NOT WAS MADE BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF VERIFICATION. THIRDLY, THEREFORE, IF TWO LAUNCHERS WERE IN ALL POINTS IDENTICAL SO FAR AS NATIONAL

TECHNICAL MEANS COULD TELL AND ONE WAS KNOWN TO BE AN ICBM LAUNCHER, BOTH WOULD HAVE TO COUNT IN THE AGGREGATE.

SHCHUKIN ASKED AGAIN, WAS NOT THE "MODE OF EXPLOITATION" (OF THE LAUNCHERS) TO BE INTRODUCED AS A TELL TALE SIGN? HE ADDED THAT ONE COULD NOT MIX ICBMS AND NON-ICBMS AND THAT, WHILE SOME TIME WOULD BE NEEDED TO UNDERSTAND WHICH WERE WHICH, THE TWO KINDS OF MISSILES COULD BE DISTINGUISHED BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS.

MAY REPLIED THAT, AT PRESENT, SO FAR AS HE KNEW, ICBM SILOS AND NON-ICBM SILOS WERE NOT IDENTICAL (THROUGHOUT SECRET

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SHCHUKIN HAD BEEN USING THE WORDS LAUNCHERS AND SILOS INTER-CHANGEABLY, THUS MAKING IT CLEAR THAT HIS DISCUSSION CONCERNED ONLY FIXED ICBM LAUNCHERS).

SHCHUKIN NOTED THAT THE SILOS FOR MINUTEMAN II AND MINUTEMAN III HAD THE SAME INTERNAL DIMENSIONS. MAY WAS NOT SURE WHETHER HE MEANT TO SAY INTERNAL OR EXTERNAL.) HE WENT ON TO SAY "WE DO NOT HAVE ANY INTENTION OF COUNTING MINUTEMAN II AS MIRVED. WE WOULD NOT SO COUNT THEM EVEN IF WE DID NOT HAVE THE STATEMENTS OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE. WE ARE SURE WHICH SILOS CONTAIN MINUTEMAN II MISSILES, EVEN THOUGH SOME OF THE MINUTEMAN II SILOS HAVE BEEN WORKED ON. IF WE WERE TO AGREE WITH THE POSITION PRESENTED BY AMBASSADOR JOHNSON, IT COULD CAUSE DIFFICULTY LATER ON." SHCHUKIN ASKED AGAIN, WHAT ARE THE "INDICES" TO BE UTILIZED IN MAKING DISTINCTIONS? HE NOTED THAT THE SOVIET DEFINITION REFERRED TO LAUNCHERS WHICH CONTAINED OR WITH CERTAIN MISSILES, PRESUMABLY TO EMPHASIZE THE ROLE OF THE MISSILE IN IDENTIFYING THE LAUNCHER.

MAY ASKED WHETHER THE WORD "DEPLOYED" IN THE SOVIET FORMULATION OF AN ICBM LAUNCHER DEFINITION INCLUDED ALL OF THE STATUSES WHICH THE TWO SIDES HAD AGREED WERE TO COUNT IN THE 2400 AGGREGATE, AND INCLUDED ALSO THE TEST AND TRAINING LAUNCHERS WHICH, WHILE NOT BE BE COUNTED WITHIN THE 2400 AGGREGATE, WERE NEVERTHELESS LIMITED? SHCHUKIN ANSWERED THAT IN HIS OPINION THEIR WORD "DEPLOYED" WOULD HAVE THAT MEANING.

MAY ASKED WHETHER LAUNCHERS WHICH HAD BEEN USED TO TEST BOTH ICBMS AND NON-ICBM, OR HAD BEEN DEVELOPED AND DEPLOYED WITH BOTH ICBMS AND NON-ICBMS, OR HAD THE CAPABILITY TO LAUNCH BOTH ICBMS AND NON-ICBMS WOULD COUNT IN THE 2400 AGGREGATE. SHCHUKIN ANSWERED THAT THE QUESTION WAS HYPOTHETICAL AND THAT HE COULD ONLY ANSWER IT IN PART. HE THEN REPEATED THAT IF ANY LAUNCHER WAS SPECIALLY DEVELOPED AND DEPLOYED FOR ICBMS IT MUST BE COUNTED.

SHCHUKIN SAID THAT THE WORD "SPECIALLY" IN RUSSIAN, MEANT THAT ONE COULD NOT USE JUST ANYTHING FOR AN ICBM LAUNCHER. IN ANSWER TO MY QUESTION HE SAID THAT "SPECIALLY" DID NOT MEAN EXCLUSIVELY.

3. (STOERTZ-JACKOMIS-BUTTS/BUDANTSEV-CHESNOKOV, A-1291)

ICBM LAUNCHER DEFINITION

STOERTZ SAID, IN THE INTEREST OF NARROWING DIFFERENCES,
HE THOUGHT OF ALL ICBM LAUNCHERS AS A GROUP CONTAINING VARIOUS
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SUBGROUPS. ONE SUBGROUP WAS LAUNCHERS WHICH WERE "DEPLOYED."
HE ASKED FIRST, WHETHER THE SOVIET PHRASE "SPECIALLY DEVELOPED
AND DEPLOYED" INCLUDED ALL "DEPLOYED" ICBM LAUNCHERS IN ANY OF
THE CATEGORIES LISTED IN PARAGRAPH 1 OF ARTICLE VI. BUDANTSEV
AT FIRST REPLIED THAT THE DEFINITION DEFINED ICBM LAUNCHERS
WHILE ARTICLE VI, PARAGRAPH 1, DESCRIBED THE CONDITIONS IN WHICH
THEY WOULD BE LIMITED. AT STOERTZ' INVITATION, HE THEN
STUDIED THE TEXT OF ARTICLE VI, PARAGRAPH 1, AND REPLIED THAT
THE PHRASE "SPECIALLY DEVELOPED AND DEPLOYED" INCLUDED ICBM
LAUNCHERS IN ANY OF THE LISTED CATEGORIES.

STOERTZ SAID ANOTHER SUBGROUP OF ICBM LAUNCHERS WAS THOSE
USED FOR TEST AND TRAINING. WAS THE SOVIET PHRASE INTENDED
TO INCLUDE SUCH LAUNCHERS? BUDANTSEV AT FIRST SAID SUCH
LAUNCHERS WERE NOT LIMITED. STOEORTZ AND CHESNOKOV CLARIFIED
THAT THEY WERE LIMITED BY ARTICLE VII THOUGH NOT INCLUDED IN
THE 2,400 AGGREGATE. BUDANTSEV THEN SAID HE DID NOT SEE WHAT
RELATIONSHIP THERE WAS BETWEEN THE DEFINITION OF AN ICBM
LAUNCHER AND THE AGREED PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE VII. PRESSED
FURTHER, HE FINALLY SAID THE PHRASE "SPECIALLY DEVELOPED AND
DEPLOYED" DID NOT IN HIS OPINION COVER TEST AND TRAINING
LAUNCHERS, BUT THAT IN HIS OPINION, THE BASIC DEFINITION OF AN
ICBM LAUNCHER IN ARTICLE II INCLUDED ALL ICBM LAUNCHERS,
SOME OF WHICH WOULD BE LIMITED BY THE AGGREGATE LIMITATION AND
OTHERS BY ARTICLE VII.

STOERTZ THEN ASKED WHETHER LAUNCHERS "SPECIALLY DEVELOPED
AND DEPLOYED" FOR LAUNCHING ICBMS INCLUDED LAUNCHERS CAPABLE
OF LAUNCHING BOTH ICBMS AND OTHER KINDS OF MISSILES. THIS WAS
ANOTHER POSSIBLE SUBGROUP OF ICBM LAUNCHERS. BUDANTSEV REPLIED
THAT THIS QUESTION RAISED TECHNICAL ISSUES, THE POSSIBILITY WAS
HYPOTHETICAL, AND PERHAPS US AND SOVIET TECHNICAL EXPERTS SHOULD
DISCUSS SUCH A POSSIBILITY TOGETHER. JOHNSON

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